Higher Education for Women in India—Choices and Challenges

Nandita Singh, Reader, Department of Education, Panjab University, Chandigarh, India

Abstract

The paper analyses gender disparity in education evident across the socio-economic spectrum in India. Concern for girls' education in last few years has lead to a considerable expansion of access at the primary level. But a great number of girls especially in the rural areas drop out before they reach secondary or higher stages of education. Many enter in to matrimony and become young mothers before having the opportunity to realize their full potential. Removed from formal schools at the onset of puberty, those who are not married, take on household responsibilities. The ones who are able to resist social and pedagogic pressures to drop out and reach the level of college or university, take studies seriously as they know this privilege will vanish after matrimony. Many are not even able to peruse their goals of further education or choice of vocation. There is a need to develop gender –specific pedagogy and provide flexibility in the system of education, in which women could fulfill their aspirations, overcoming their domestic obligations. Higher education should prepare them to face a world of opportunities and challenges.

Introduction

Developmental policies and programmes that do not address gender disparities miss critical developmental opportunities. Education of girls is vital not only on grounds of social justice but also because it accelerates social transformation. Promotion of gender equality in education is essential for human resource development. By educating a woman you educate the whole family. Given that a woman has the responsibility of the whole family on herself, an educated woman is better capable of taking care of the health, nutrition and education of her children and more so be an active agent in the social and economic development of the country. It is evident that economic success everywhere is based on educational success. Literacy is the basic building block of education. It is a basic component of social cohesion and national identity. It leads to an improvement in the depth and quality of public opinion, as well as to more active participation of the marginalized in the democratic process. No society has ever liberated itself economically, politically, or socially without a sound base of educated women. Education has a direct impact on women empowerment as it creates in them awareness about their rights, their capabilities and the choices and opportunities available to them. Studies have indicated that there is a strong correlation between female education and several developmental indicators such as increased economic productivity, improvement in health, delayed age at marriage, lower fertility, increased political participation, and effective investments in the next generation.

Indian Context- Policies and Programmes

In India, providing education to all the citizens is a constitutional commitment. The principal of gender equality is enshrined in the Indian constitution, in its Preamble, Fundamental Rights, Fundamental Duties and Directive Principals. The Constitution not only guarantees equality to women, but also empowers the State to adopt measures of positive discrimination in favour of women. Just after Independence, in 1951, literacy levels were very low (25% for men and 9% for women), In the next ten years there was not much progress in the literacy levels. It is only after the recommendations of the Indian education commission (1964) and the National policy of education (1968) that the education of girls was seen as a means of accelerating social transformation. The policy placed special emphasis on initiating programmes to give equal educational opportunities to all the groups and both sexes. The constitution also gave primary responsibility for elementary education to the state governments, while the central government was given responsibility for technical and higher education. This situation changed in 1976 after the 42nd Amendment to the constitution was passed, making all education the joint responsibility of the central and state governments. One of the consequences of this was that the foreign assistance, so far restricted to technical and higher education, now began to flow into primary education as well. Between the mid-1960 and the early 1980s, the proportion of resources going into elementary education showed a steady increase.

National Policy on Education (NPE), 1986 and its Programme of Action (POA) gave high priority to gender equality and committed the entire educational system to work for women's empowerment. The National Perspective Plan 1988-2000 reiterates this point of view and states that women themselves must overcome their handicaps. Thus, there has been a careful articulation of education for equality for women, which is reflected in the educational policy discourse. Central and State governments attached lot of significance to actually operationalising the NPE's Programme of Action and in a series of regional meetings with the State Governments, a special review of gender issues in education was undertaken. At the same time it was emphasized to the States, that gender concerns must be built into all educational processes. Monitoring committees for women's/girls' education at the Ministry of Human Resource Development level and also state level were formed to monitor the indicators of gender concerns in all policies and projects. Emphasis was laid on enrolment and retention of the

girl child in formal and non formal schooling; recruitment of rural women teachers and removal of gender bias in the curriculum.

Mass literacy campaigns in different parts of India were launched which brought out volunteers from all sections of society as instructors, master trainers and organizers. Adult Education Programmes, Total Literacy Campaigns, Post Literacy Programmes, and continuing Education Programmes were also started. Nation wide gender sensitization programmes were undertaken to cover a large number of educational personnel to include educational administrators, teachers and teacher educators. Complementary to this strategy, media campaigns and parental awareness programmes for generating a positive climate for girls' education were also started. Mobilization of women's groups and projects like Mahila Samakhya (Education for Women's Equality) with focus on the constraints that had so far prevented women and girls from accessing educational inputs were launched. The purpose of these groups was to address issues of self image and self confidence of women and alter societal perception about them. Its overall goal was to create circumstances to enable women to better understand their predicament, to move from a state of abject disempowerment towards a situation in which they could determine their own lives and influence their environment, and simultaneously create for themselves and their family an educational opportunity which enhanced the process of development.

Profiling Gender Gap in Education

Gender gap has been well documented and analyzed by governmental agencies, international organisation, university departments, NGO'S and individual researchers. Some recent publications that provide a panoramic view of this subject include, World Bank (1997), which charts the terrain occupied by primary organisations; Ramchandaran (1998), which provides the comparative perspective on girls' and Women's education in South Asia; Shukla and Kaul (1998), Bhattacharya (1998), which looks more generally at the status of education in India; and finally Haq and Haq(1998), which analyses education within the context of human development in South Asia.

The past five decades have produced mass of information on innovative practices and experimental programmes. There are also innumerable guidelines and policy statements on why

gender gaps persist in education and how these can be reduced. Negative cultural and societal attitudes, different standards-roles for boys and girls, competing demands on the girls' time, economic reasons like -lack of resources, distance from school, lack of facilities in schools for girls, lack of female teachers, lack of security both in and outside the school ,curriculum not relevant and flexible, gender stereotyping in curriculum ,gender unfriendly classroom environment, early marriage and child bearing, absence of women role models, fear of deterioration of social structure, are the most frequently quoted stumbling blocks to female education. In response to this, developing flexible school calendars, encouraging community participation, promoting parental awareness, creating gender neutral textbooks., training teachers for promoting gender equality, promoting girls access to science and math's education, reliance on multiple delivery systems and increasing resources of primary education are the strategies most often recommended for overcoming these hurdles.(Haq and Haq,1998). In fact there is a certain degree of agreement about the constraints to education and about strategies that "work". But despite this convergence, these problems persist. The discourse on strategies needs to be located in a dynamic perspective. Revision and reflection are required to analyze this changing scenario, to identify its impact and to develop strategies to adjust to it. (Wazir, 2000)

The 93rd Constitution Amendment with the insertion of new article (21A)"The state shall provide free and compulsory education to all children of the age of 6 and 14 years in such manner as the state may, by law, determine." enables any citizen to seek the enforcement of the right by way of resort to writ Jurisdiction under Article 32 and 226 of the Constitution. Thus the 93rd Constitution Amendment fulfills the mandate of the CRC (The convention on the rights of the child which was adopted by UN General Assembly on November 20, 1989). This initiative of the government has had far reaching consequences and has been a major catalyst in increasing the number of enrolments in primary classes.

Data from Demographic and Health Survey (DHS) shows that the primary school attendance rate has increased by more than one percentage point annually since the beginning of the decade. In 2000, 76 percent of all children of primary school age (6-10 years) were in school. By 2006, this value had increased to 83 percent (see Table-1)The attendance rate of girls increased by 9 percent over the 2000-2006 period and the attendance rate of boys by 6 percent.

School attendance rates also grew in urban and rural areas, and across all household wealth quintiles. However, close to 17 percent of all children of primary school age still continue to be out of school.

Rural-Urban Differential

Experience of the last sixty years has shown that placing a high priority on education in policy statements has, to a certain degree ensured availability of adequate resources, but it does not ensure that marginalized groups benefit by national programs The expansion of the educational system has been uneven and inadequate There is a gender gap in the educational status of boys and girls and more so amongst the disadvantaged castes and tribes. Wage labourers have lower literacy levels than other occupational groups. There is also a marked rural-urban differential. The lowest educational achievement can be expected among rural women belonging to scheduled caste or tribe.

India represents a picture of contrasts when it comes to education and employment opportunities for girls in the rural and the urban areas. Cultural, social and economic factors still prevent girls from getting education opportunities and so the question of equality is still a mirage. The status of the girl child has been a subject of much discussion, controversy and debate. While more and more families are beginning to value girls as equals to boys, there are still overwhelming cultural and economic reasons why female children are not receiving the same medical, emotional and educational attention as their male counterparts. From the start, girl child is seen as burden rather than a blessing, bearer of exorbitant dowry, who will eventually move into the home of her husband. As a child; a girl receives less food, attention and emotional support than her male counterpart; as an adult, less attention is paid on developing her potential and more on matrimony and motherhood as these are regarded the essential and overarching goals of her life and all education is a preparation for that.

In the rural areas, the girl child is made to perform household and agricultural chores. This is one of the many factors limiting girls' education. Cleaning the house, preparing food, looking after their siblings, the elderly and the sick, grazing the cattle and collecting firewood are some of the key tasks they have to perform. Households are therefore reluctant to spare them for

schooling. Physical safety of the girls, especially when they have to travel a long distance to school and fear of sexual harassment are other reasons that impede girls' education. In the urban areas, however, there is a discernible difference in the opportunities that girls get for education and employment. There is an element of awareness of gender issues in the more educated sections of society in certain regions. Moreover, urban spaces permit greater opportunity for personal autonomy to girls. Though the figures for girls would still be low as compared to boys, what is heartening to see is that whenever given the opportunity, girls have excelled more than boys. For instance, in the Central Board of Secondary Examinations for grades 10 and 12, which are at an All India level, girls have for over a decade now, bagged all the top positions and secured a higher over all percentage compared to boys.

In employment opportunities too, women in India today have stormed all male bastions. Be it piloting aircraft, heading multi-national corporations, holding top bureaucratic positions, leading industrial houses, making a mark as doctors, filmmakers, chefs, engineers and even as train and lorry drivers, women have made it to all hitherto considered male bastions in India. However, this is not reason enough for us to cheer. For the number of girls and women who have been left out of education and employment opportunities still far outweighs those who have got them. It is important to realize that fewer girls survive in the system long enough to reach the end of secondary education. And what is needed to change this scenario is not just governmental efforts but a change in societal norms, in cultural and traditional biases and in general mindsets of people. And in this the media, the civil society, and the youth, the women and girls have a lot to contribute.

Higher Education for girls in India

Indian higher education system is one of the largest in the world. It consists of colleges, universities, institutions of national importance (such as Indian Institutes of Technology, Indian Institutes of Management and Indian Institutes of Science, etc.), and autonomous institutions with the status of deemed universities. In 2002-03, there were 300 universities; of which 183 were provincial, 18 federal, 71 deemed universities, and 5 were established through central and state legislation and 13 institutes of national importance. The enrolment was 9,227,833 (about 7.8% of the relevant age group). There were 436,000 teachers in 2002-03 as against 457,000 in

2000-01. Of these nearly 83% are in the affiliated colleges and 17% in the universities. Gender wise data is not provided by the UGC. However, the 2001-02, MHRD (2001-02) provides information on the women teachers in the 12 open universities which is 18.4% and 21.5% in the institutions offering correspondence courses. There has been phenomenal expansion of educational opportunities for women in the field of higher education both general and technical. Women education at the university-both college levels has been diversified and reoriented in tune with the changing requirements of the society, industry and trade. The number of women enrolled in institutions of higher education increased from 40,000 in 1950-51 to about 14, 37,000 in 1990-91 recording an increase of more than 36 times over the forty-year period. And in the year 2004-05 the number increased to 3,971,407. Proportion of women entering higher education1950-51 was10.9 percent and in 2002-03 it was 40.04 percent. The number of women per 100 men in 1950-51 was14 which increased to 67 in 2002-03.

There are also wide disparities in enrolment by region, caste, and tribe and by gender. These differences impact on women from the disadvantaged groups. In 2001-02, the proportions of SC/ST students were as follows: Scheduled Castes 11.5 percent (1,016,182) SC men 8 percent (7, 06,769) and SC women 3.5 percent (309,813). The ST students constituted 4 percent (351,880) of total enrolment; men 2.7 percent (240,495); women 1.3 percent (114,168). In M.Phil/Ph.D. programmes, there were 53,119 students all over the country. Of these 36.3 percent (19,299) were women; 5.9 percent (3,133) SC students; and 1.80 (951) ST students. There were 824 SC women and 344 ST women, i.e. 4.3 percent and 1.8 percent respectively of all women research students. It is quite well known that inspite of a very well formulated policy of positive discrimination, the representation of SC/ST students is not adequate and the proportion of women is negligible. They generally join general education courses and are denied access to elite/courses and institutions

Further, disciplinary choices are affected by socio-economic factors especially in the case of Scheduled Caste/Scheduled Tribe students whose representation remains marginal in higher education. But they too, are better represented in states in which women have better representation and in which higher education facilities have expanded in recent years.

Disciplinary Choices for women

The relationship between availability of disciplinary choices and women's ability to accessthem are not directly related, nor are they dependent on women's academic achievement. The reasons cited for this are mainly due to social ethics. Large majority of women may be deprived of exercising free options in selecting subjects of their choice in school, as in case of girls, parents generally take the decision regarding the academic stream to be pursued .This decision is guided by the consideration that girls are not expected to work or earn before marriage and education is only an investment to fall back upon in case of the daughter becoming a widow or being deserted (Chanana 1998). The poor parents have another problem; even though they perceive the significance of education, many a times they are not able to finance it. Besides, there is lack of role models and socialization support at home. Women from these social categories are the most affected by the stratification of disciplines, programmes and institutions. Further, the social and economic disparities are reflected not only vis-à-vis caste and tribe but also at the regional level, i.e. in different provinces. Discipline boundaries not only limit choices but choices are further limited by future options of "life chances" of women. Higher Education is further denied to the disadvantaged groups and especially women from rural poor homes. Because of social and economic reasons, parents may be unwilling to spend on education as well as the dowries of their daughters

A perusal of the disciplinary choices depicts that the proportion of women in some of the masculine disciplines was miniscule soon after independence and remained so till 1980's. This is evident as the proportion of women in science decreased from 33.3 percent in 1950-51 to 28.8 percent 1980-81. This was the period when natural science was at a premium, especially physics and chemistry. Till the eighties they were the first choice for male students and while competing with men, women were pushed out. It is also possible that science was not, in any case, the first preference for young women whose parents perceived marriage as a priority over higher education. An undergraduate degree of any kind only helped in the marriage market by raising the social status. A science degree required a longer investment of time and other resources, therefore was not desirable. The young women were also socialized to perceive higher education from that view point.

The proportion of women in 2002-03 in arts was 44.2 and has been increasingly steadily since 1970-71. The proportion of men, on the other hand, has decreased gradually during the same period from 83.9 percent to 54.6 percent. In teacher's education, another feminine discipline the proportion of women has gone up from 32.4 to 50.6 percent. Science, a masculine discipline, provides an interesting insight on disciplinary choices of young women and men. For example, in science the proportion of men which was around 80-90 percent till 1980-81, has come down to 59.8 percent in 2002-03.(Chanana2004)

Higher education for young women is taken for granted nowadays among the upper and middle strata in the cities but it is still not viewed as an immediate investment in their careers. Social role expectations affect the aspirations of women. For example, in the patriarchal social structure, parents are not expected to use the income of their daughters. Therefore, even educated daughters are not encouraged to work and if they do so, it is for a short period before marriage. After marriage It is the right of the groom's family to decide whether she will work or not. Therefore, for a majority of young women in the academia, higher education is not linked to careers. This is the reason why women join arts and humanities as they are cheaper, softer, and shorter than the professional courses. But lately the number of those who are entering the professional subjects is growing.

Public versus Private Education

Until the liberalization of the economy in the early nineties, higher education was publicly funded by the federal/central and provincial/state governments. However, since 1991 the policies of the government have dramatically changed with regard to seemingly privileged position of higher education. The government began to remove public support to higher education and make it self financing while privatizing it. Higher education has also become a non merit good .However, Since the early nineties, private autonomous institutions were permitted to be set up on a liberal scale without a clearly defined policy to regulate the private institutions (Anandkrishnan 2004).

Most of the private institutes offer professional courses as these are more popular and lucrative. Privatization of education has increased the intake capacity of specific kind of

professional education; especially skill oriented undergraduate degrees, which lead to a career and a job. Earlier an undergraduate degree, except in engineering and medicine, was a step to further higher education and was not a finishing degree. Young men and women were not expected to work and earn soon after finishing undergraduate education. Those who did so, belonged to the lower middle strata and needed to work and to earn to support the family and themselves. The middle and upper strata, on the other hand, could postpone income generation until further education. This was more applicable to most women across strata, that is, they were not studying in order to earn and to take up jobs. It was an investment in their social status as well as additional criteria for marriage.

Privatisation has deepened the gender gap further. Professional Education is denied to the disadvantaged groups and especially poor and rural women because of social and economic reasons. Resultantly, more women are taking up courses in general education as these are easily available and are cheaper as compared to professional courses. Professional education requires several years of studentship and higher financial investment than the general education. Many women join general courses as these provide them an opportunity to enhance their qualifications as well as wait for the right match for matrimony. Secondly, parents may be unwilling to spend on education of their daughters as they are expected to spend money on their marriages. According to Indian tradition, it is obligatory for a girl's parents to offer gifts and money to the grooms family at the time of marriage.

Recent Trends

In recent times there has been a change in the aspirations of young persons. Both men and women are in a hurry to finish studies and start earning. Money making has become the most important value for them. For this reason, they prefer to take up courses which are linked to jobs and pursuing studies for academic purposes is no longer the aim. The revolution in values cuts across strata, i.e. young persons even from the upper and middle strata want to earn as early as possible. The daughters of city based professional parents have really undergone a sea change in their socialization. Parents are giving the best education to their daughters and expect them to be independent and follow careers. This revolution in values contrasts with those values which dominated prior to the nineties, i.e. education and its linkage to the job market early on in life

was only for those men who needed jobs and was certainly not for women. In this changed situation, the priorities of women have also changed. They too want professional education and are, therefore, entering the so called masculine disciplines.

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There are two simultaneous trends of clustering and dispersal that can be seen in the participation of men and women in higher education. During the first three decades while women tended to be clustered in the general disciplines of arts and sciences (nearly 90 percent); men's participation was characterized by both clustering in arts and sciences disciplines but also significantly dispersed in others such as commerce, engg/tech and law. Lately, however, women's participation too is marked by clustering as well as dispersal (Chanana, 2004)

Once women enter higher education at the undergraduate level, they move on the next two levels, namely, the graduate and research level. In other words, their transition from one level to another has increased which highlights their staying power. In1991-92,14,79,231 women were enrolled for undergraduate programmes which increased to 3,285,544 in 2002-03; 169,267 women were enrolled for graduate programmes in 1991-92 as compared to 355,893 women in 2002-03; from and 19,894 in 1991-92 to 23,609 in 2002-03 for research programmes. During these years their proportion has also increased from 32.8 percent to 39.9 percent in undergraduate programmes; from 34.7 percent to 42.0 percent in graduate level programmes; and from 37.1 percent to 38.0 percent in the M.Phil and Ph.D. programme (as shown in Table 3). Their proportion is highest at the graduate level while their proportion in research programmes has marginally declined from 39.2 percent in 1995-96 to 38.0 percent in 2002-03. Until 1950-51, only 20.2 women had enrolled for research degrees which increased in the next three decades to 8,780 in 1980-81 (Chanana 1993). Their number nearly doubled to 15,018 in 1988-89. Now it stands at 23,609 in 2002-03. The University Grants Commission has been providing financial assistance to universities for undertaking well-defined projects for research in women's studies and also for the development of curriculum at the undergraduate and postgraduate levels and relevant extension activities. The Commission has also created positions of part-time research associate ships for women candidates in Science and Humanities including social Sciences and Engineering and Technology. Research projects related to the theme of women's studies were approved. Also assistance was provided to 21 universities and 11 colleges/university departments for setting up women's studies centres and cells

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The slightly higher percentage at the graduate level indicates that more women are transiting from undergraduate to the next higher level courses. It may also have something to do with the popularity of master's programmes in management, computers and IT, media, advertising, fashion technology etc. which are proffered in the metropolitan cities. But in the absence of statistics, it is difficult to arrive at a conclusion.

In fact, there is a general trend of moving away from the general courses to the professional courses which lead to jobs and careers. There is also a big demand for vocational courses at the undergraduate level. As observed in the departments of Management, women seem to prefer human resource management (HRM) and development (HRD) as fields of It is likely that jobs involving public relations, personnel management, specializations. marketing, and advertising in the corporate sector, such as the banks, IT firms, BPO companies are becoming feminine jobs and specializations. It seems that women are moving from discipline choices to specializations within disciplines. One could treat post 1991 phase as a period which set forth a change which increased the social demand for specific kind of professional education, especially skill oriented undergraduate degrees which lead to a career and a job. Earlier boys and girls were not expected to work and earn soon after finishing undergraduate education. Those who did so belonged to the lower middle strata and needed to work and to earn to support the family and themselves. The middle and upper strata, on the other hand, could postpone income generation until further education. This was more applicable to most women across strata, that is, they were not studying in order to earn and to take up jobs. It was an investment in their social status as well as additional criteria for marriage. Although this may still be true of a large majority of women and their parents, that is, they do not expect their daughters to earn after receiving a degree, there are changes in the expectations of parents and of young women in big cities. Therefore, parental expectations and young women's aspirations have been push factors in the shift of disciplinary choices in the mid 90s. It is related to the change in values as mentioned earlier and as a response to market demands in the post liberalization phase. More women are enrolling in engineering and law but the preference for management degrees and computer related degrees and skills is higher. These subjects are available in the fast expanding private sector which responds quickly to the unmet demand for specific skills. Informal discussions with key persons reveal that computer applications and software computer engineering as compared to other specializations are popular among women. It will, therefore, have to be seen if women are getting professional training which leads to jobs and careers?

There are hardly any micro studies for macro data to fall back upon to answer this question. But as mentioned earlier, there are now differences in the specialisations within disciplines which have career implications. For example, HRM requires interaction with the public and there are several others of this kind. In the last few years women have become visible in the call centres; telemarketing; front desk jobs in the multinational/private banks, hospitals, hotels, etc. Quite a few of these jobs are short term and contractual and, therefore, suit the social role expectations of women.

Current framework of National Development recognises women as a unique power unit and a potential resource and has played crucial role in social reforms, economic development and also in the political process. Women's development is a pre requisite for all the round development of the society. In a package of developmental inputs available to community, education should form an effective means to improve the physical quality of life of the masses. Many studies have shown that there is a strong correlation between several developmental indicators and level of literacy of the population. Correlation is particularly strong with the level of female education It is found that the relation between the age of marriage of a girl and her achievement in education is positive. On the other handy infant mortality rate, birth rate and total fertility rate are negatively correlated. Though school enrolment ratios have been rising, high rate of drop outs, particularly of girls, still continues to be a major problem. The Mass scale Adult education programme for women in the age group 15-35 years, Non- formal education for the age group 6-14 years and the formal school system- these three systems of education have to be integrated and coordinated to eradicate illiteracy among females. Continuing education centres should be strengths to provide training and for retention of literacy skills.

Corrective measures must be taken to increase public awareness for the value of the girl child, to ensure their participation in programmes of Child development, health, nutrition and education and to create a positive environment to allow girls to develop into productive young women.

The biggest challenge before the Government and NGO's is to create awareness and sensitization among people of all levels, especially in rural areas, about the special needs of women and girls. They need to be made aware that imparting education to women is a great service to society. This vital section of society has remained bound in the shackles and been deprived for far too long. There is a need for affirmative and real action in their favour which will ensure the women to right to food, shelter, health, education and employment. However, the recent changes and developments are kindling hopes for better and promising future.

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Table 1: Children of primary school age in school (percent), India 2000 and 2006

	2000	2006	Change 2000 to 2006
Male	79.2	85.2	5.9
Female	72.3	81.4	9.1
Urban	82.5	88.5	5.9
Rural	73.8	81.5	7.7
Poorest 20%	66.1	69.4	3.2
Second 20%	69.2	81.2	12.1
Middle 20%	78.8	87.5	8.7
Fourth 20%	82.1	92.2	10.1
Richest 20%	89.1	95.7	6.6
Total	75.9	83.3	7.5

 $Data\ sources:\ India\ Multiple\ Indicator\ Cluster\ Survey\ (MICS)$

2000, India DHS 2005-06.

Table2:Enrollment in Higher Education by Gender (Number)

2004-05	2004-05	2004-05	2004-05
2004-05	2004-05	2004-05	2004-05
1980-81	748,525	200,3912	2,752,437
1950-51	43,126	353,619,00	396,745

Source: Ministry of Human Resource, Govt. of India)

Table 3: Women in Higher Education Courses

Courses	1991-92	2002-03
Graduate	32.8 percent	39.9 percent
Post-Graduate	34.7 percent	42.0 percent
Research (M.Phil)	37.1 percent	38.0 percent)
Research (Ph.D)	15,018 (in numbers)	23,609 (in numbers)

Source: Ministry of Human Resource, Govt. of India)

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